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ABSTRACT

How and why the expansion and reorientation in Cuban higher education has taken place is noted, and continuing problems and emerging trends are assessed. Few developing countries can match Cuban achievements in higher education, which has advanced to levels characteristic of developed societies. Ideological orientations of historical trends are presented. The current system, which by 1986 had over 45 university facilities enrolling 268,000 students, is discussed. Rapidly expanding enrollment is a response to Castro's commitment to provide all Cuban citizens with higher education. Numbers of academic staff greatly increased following 1975/76 reforms; and status differences between staff, professors, and students have been reduced. The concept of academic freedom does not exist. With higher education tightly integrated into Cuba's economy, university graduates move easily into technical/professional work in state ministries, agencies, and organizations. One major problem in Cuban higher education is the attempted creation of a revolutionary socialist consciousness in all students. This attempt to orient Cuban youth, who know the revolutionary struggle of the 1950s only as history, has led to a chronic problem of low academic achievement and inadequate skills development. It is unsure how long Castro will be able to pursue a counter policy of ideological rigidification with the emergence of new technical elites in the Soviet Union. The extent to which university students will continue to endure oppressive ideological indoctrination remains to be seen. Chapter IV of Cuba's Constitution ("Education and Culture") is included. Contains 50 references. (SM)

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE STATE IN CUBA

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Introduction

In January 1989 when the Cuban revolution celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, Cuban higher education could look back on three decades of unprecedented change in size, historical role, and contributions to national development. If one compares Cuban efforts in this regard with other developing countries, few if any can match or even come close to Cuban achievements. Rather, using participation and expenditure indicators, as presented in Figures 1 and 2, Cuban higher education has advanced to levels more characteristic of developed societies. How and why this expansion and reorientation has taken place, along with an assessment of continuing problems and emerging trends will be the theme of this essay.

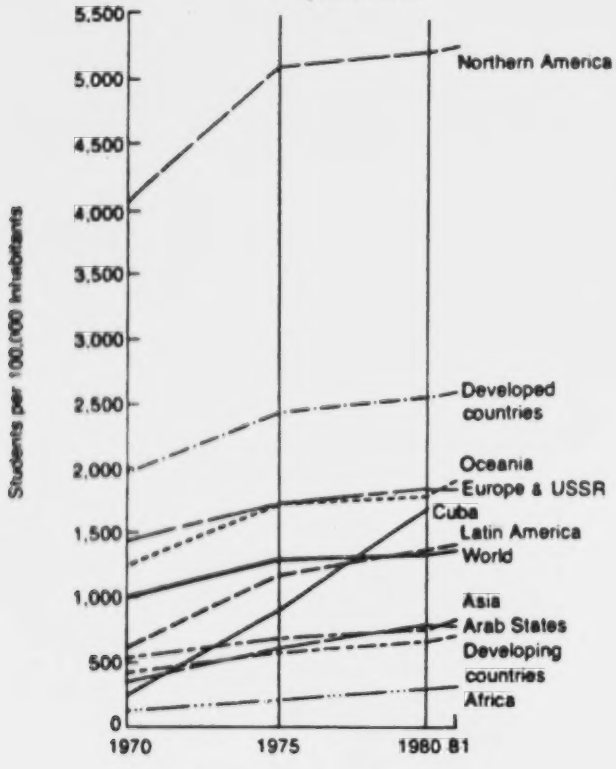
(FIGURES 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE)

Ideological Orientation

In Chapter IV of the Cuban Constitution, "Education and Culture," Cuban revolutionaries have clearly spelled out the bedrock principles upon which all educational policy is formulated (see Appendix 1). Higher education is a monopoly of the state. All policy is centrally developed, implemented, and evaluated within a Marxist-Leninist "scientific" world view. The rationale for all higher studies is to provide communist education where study work, sports and military training are combined to serve the interests of the state. Education is largely free of charge. It seeks to promote the integral development of all citizens. It is accessible to all who support the Revolution. It stresses a

FIGURE 1

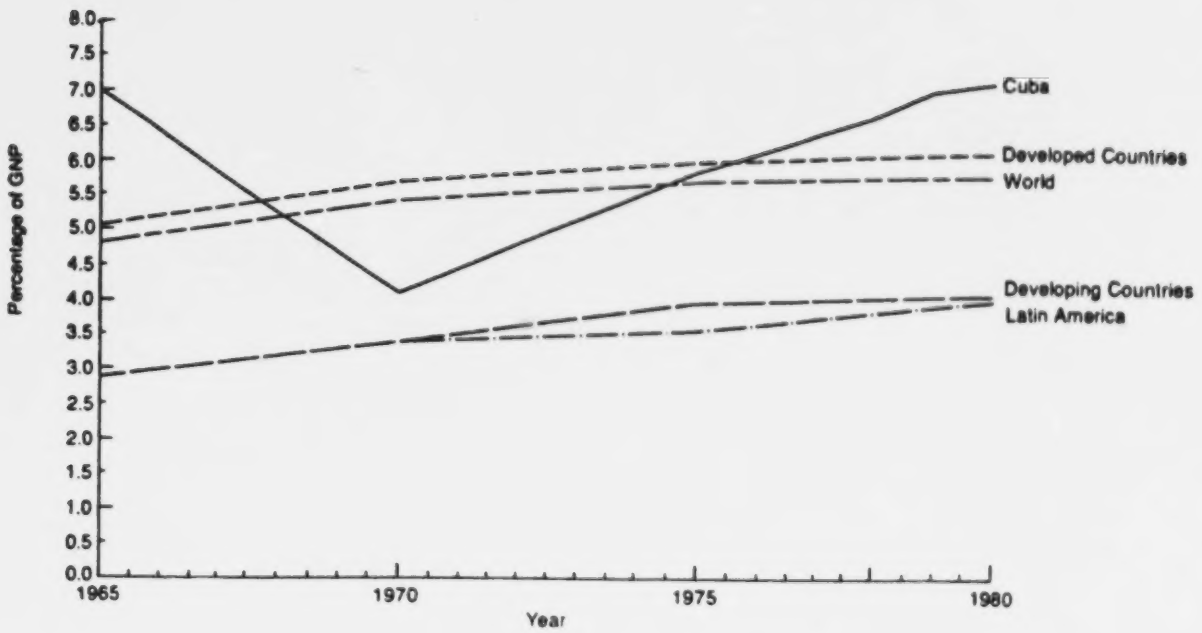
Higher Education Students per 100,000 Population



SOURCE: UNESCO, 1974-1983

FIGURE 2

Educational Expenditures (Estimated) as a Percentage of GNP



SOURCE: UNESCO, 1974, 1983

scientific approach to solving problems of society and human well-being (Rojas, 1985: 3-11). It serves a broad and ambitious mandate especially for a small Caribbean nation of some 11,000,000 people with a long history of colonial exploitation and dependence on a sugar economy (Ramos, 1951). In sum, it seeks the utopian aims of creating a new socialist person in a new socialist culture.

As the chief architect of this bold vision, Fidel Castro has clearly given the charge to higher education:

> the new man must be by basic nature communistic. Not because he has arrived there by reason, or conviction, or class consciousness: but because all his manner of being, of thinking is part of a communist culture. We must develop with great precision the pedagogy required to make this communist man. For without it we will have neither the correct ideological structure in our youth, nor the possibility to create the first truly communist society (Primer congresso, 1974: 3).

Before examining how higher education has struggled with utopian goals and difficult conditions in the period of revolutionary reconstruction, we should first turn to the earlier political struggles carried out in Cuban universities before 1959.

Historical Trends

Cuban higher education, i.e., the University of Havana, played a central political role in historical efforts to gain independence from Spain, to replace the dictators Machado and Batista with

honest democratic rule, and during the period of revolutionary socialist reconstruction after 1959 (Suchlickie, 1969: 15-86).

Founded in 1728 and secularized in 1842, the University of Havana had become a stronghold of criollo, or nationalist, forces by 1870 (Packland, 1899: 43). On November 27, 1871, Spanish authorities tried and executed eight medical students and imprisoned thirty-four others for anti-Spanish subversive activities. This punitive act increased anti-Spanish sentiment and placed the university at the forefront of the independence movement led by the young student José Martí (Varona, 1900).

With independence from Spain in 1898, two periods of United States military occupation (1899-1902 and 1906-1909), and continue American economic domination, the University of Havana become increasingly divorced from the social and economic needs of the country (Cabrera, 1975). The disciplines of law and medicine dominated: the first as a road to a political career; the second, as a means to high social status. With the university reform movement of 1923, the students once again took up political activism, this time addressed to the need for a modern university directed toward social and political development. Influenced by the Córdoba reform movement and the Mexican and Russian revolutions, this movement also opposed United States supervision of Cuban affairs and instead proposed nationalism and democratic reforms (Aiguesvives, 1989:2). With the able leadership of Julio Mella, a student, a more radical part of the reform movement created the Cuban Communist Party and sought for the first time to

transcend the university's walls and make the cause of university reform "another battle of the class struggle" (Cabrera, 1977).

From 1927 to 1933 university students used urban violence to oppose President Gerardo Machado's repressive rule and continuation of the humiliating Platt Amendment which permitted direct United States intervention in Cuban affairs. Machado closed the university from 1930 to 1933 while students fought for termination of the Platt Amendment and Cuba's financial dependence on the United States, and for land reform, the eventual nationalization of the sugar and mining industries, and for the creation of an autonomous university removed from political interference. With Machado's overthrow, Ramón Grau, a professor and ex-student leader, eventually became president in 1933 to lead a government that was for labor and against exploitive foreign investment. Although Grau led the way to the granting of autonomy to the University of Havana, the students soon withdrew their support from him as military participation in his government increased. On January 14, 1934, Army Chief Fulgencio Batista forced President Grau to resign and within five days received United States government recognition. Previously the United States had refused to recognize Grau's constitutionally elected government (Marinello, 1960).

From 1934 to Fidel Castro's triumph in 1959, with a hiatus during World War II, the Cuban student movement became increasingly radicalized and politicized. The powerful Federation of University Students, i.e., the Federación de estudiantes universitarios or FEU called for social justice and attacked widespread corruption in

government and immorality in public life, especially in the violent and materialistic years after World War II. At the same time, bonches (gangs of armed students) and others used the university's autonomy to carry out political warfare, assassination, and gangsterism. The university council rejected police entrance into the campus, while acknowledging its own total inability to repress the bonches (Perez, 1975).

During this turbulent period in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Fidel Castro studied law at the University of Havana and became actively involved in student politics. Castro generally shared the goals of the student movement: economic independence, political liberty, social justice,and an end to corruption. Without national leaders, the university students assumed leadership of the anti-Batista struggle. The University of Havana was closed from 1956 to 1959, and in 1956 the leaders of the FEU unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate Batista at the presidential palace, while Castro began rural guerrilla warfare in the mountains of Oriente province (Lafitade, 1983).

Although the University of Havana retained its dominant position during the period of quasi-independence, from 1898 to 1959, a number of lesser universities came into being during the 1940s and 1950s. Most important among these was Villanova University, founded by Catholic Augustinian monks in 1940. Wealthier families who could afford the tuition favored this stable and disciplined institution over the highly politicized public universities. The University of Havana opened branch campuses at

Santiago de Cuba (1947), Las Villas (1959), Camagüey (1953), and Pinar del Rió (1954). A number of small private universities, commercial ventures seeking to capitalize on the closing of the University of Havana, flourished briefly during the late 1950s.

Upon taking power in 1959, Castro proclaimed the state and the university to be identical. The university reopened in 1959, and the students, with government support, formed the University Reform Commission to purge pro-Batista students, professors, and staff and to plan a revolutionary new curriculum and university structure. On December 31, 1960, university autonomy ended with the government's creation of the Higher Council of Universities - headed by the minister of education and composed of government representatives, faculty members, and students - to run the state universities operating at Havana, Las Villas, and Oriente (Rodriquez, 1962). In January 1962 Juan Marinello, president of the Cuban Communist Party, became rector of the university and dedicated its efforts "to the complete service of the revolution" (Marinello, 1963: 123-4). Also in 1962 the Union of Young Communists, Unión de jovenes comunistas or UJC organized the University Bureau, with responsibility for political indoctrination. And in the same year, on the anniversary of Mella's death, the Higher Council of Universities presented a comprehensive university reform plan, which continues to serve as the foundation of Cuban higher education.

Following two years of conflict between the revolutionary government and the still powerful democratic elements in the universities, the university reform of 1962 had profound effects

on Cuban higher education. The reform eventually eliminated university autonomy, terminated or nationalized all private universities, and concentrated instruction in the national universities at Havana, Las Villas, and Oriente. In 1975 the University of Havana's regional center at Camagüey became Cuban's fourth university. Renamed Ignacio Agramonte University, the institution enrolls over 3,200 students in twelve undergraduate career programs, mainly in rural development.

In 1964 the Higher Council of Universities was replaced by a National Council of Universities, responsible to the minister of education. Similarly, the university council, composed of the representatives of the faculties at each university, was replaced by a new university advisory board, including deans, representatives from the Union of Young Communists and the Federation of Students Board, and other members. University faculties became departmentalized, and the departments were organized in a manner similar to the advisory board. Faculty tenure was abolished, and the rectors were made government appointees, subject to dismissal by the minister of education.

In addition to basic structural changes, the reform clearly spelled out the government's expectation that the university would contribute to the creation of a socialist society. The university, a citadel of revolt during the colonial and republican periods, would now be integrated into the revolution. This strategy, called universalización, attempted to break down the high walls isolating the universities from society. Large numbers of workers and

farmers would attend special programs on university campuses, while professional work teams of students and faculty, or equipos, carried their special skills out to fields and factories (Castro, 1972).

The reform also called for emphasis on ideological instruction in Marxism-Leninism and a shift in priority from theoretical to practical studies, with heavy emphasis on work-study programs. In contrast to prerevolutionary university studies - which, for the most part, gave upper class students a broad liberal education in the humanities and professions, university programs would henceforth prepare Marxist specialists of high quality in technical fields (Castro, 1966).

The Present System

Following the First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in 1975, a major policy initiative reform known as perfeccionamiento sought to implement additional administrative and curricular reforms. Control of higher education moved out of the Ministry of Education into a new Ministry of Higher Education responsible for all research and teaching in universities and affiliated institutions. Higher education would be expanded to include more workers, to address social and economic development needs and improve the quality of research and teaching, and to increase the effectiveness of ideological studies (Vecino, 1986).

By 1986 over forty-five university-level facilities enrolled some 268,000 students. The University of Havana alone enrolled

sixty thousand with an additional eleven thousand non-degree students in the Worker-Farmer Faculty, or "open university" (Padula, 1988: 132-3). With strong commitment to the policy of universalization, an ever larger segment of the total population aged 20 to 24 participated in higher education. In 1982 the figure according to the World Bank was 19% a percentage higher than in Italy or the United Kingdom. In 1985-86, Castro claimed that higher education enrolled 35 of every 1,000 Cubans aged 18 or over (Mujal-Leon, 1988: 25-27). Figure 3 below summarizes main indicators for the entire educational system from 1959 to 1982 and clearly indicates a pattern of sustained growth.

(FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE)

While rapidly expanding enrollment--especially among workers, blacks, and women, may be seen as a response to Castro's commitment to provide all Cuban citizens with a "university" education, it also serves more practical purposes. It is a benefit for those actively supporting revolutionary policies. It is helpful in dealing with the potentially explosive surplus of labor. And with masification, the state reduces the university's elitist tendencies and makes higher education more akin to the other mass popular organizations under strict communist party control (Alvarez, 1985: 88-9).

Vastly expanded enrollment also means that studies must be more closely linked with central planning and development priorities (Pérez, 1982: 31). Shifts here are clearly apparent in Figures 4 below. In general, enrollments in law, humanities, and social

FIGURE 3

Main Indicators for the Development of Higher Education, 1959-1982

	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65
Higher education centers	6	6	3	3	3	3
Students	25 295	19 454	17 888	17 257	20 393	26 271
Ist. year students	—	—	—	—	—	—
Professors	1 046	1 845	992	1 482	1 987	2 600
Graduates	1 331	2 430	1 693	1 372	1 363	86
	1965/66	1966/67	1967 68	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71
Higher education centers	3	3	3	3	4	4
Students	26 162	28 243	29 238	32 327	34 520	35 137
Ist. year students	—	—	6 917	7 433	6 225	9 408
Professors	3 032	4 220	4 499	4 641	4 545	4 415
Graduates	1 830	2 834	2 758	2 769	3 832	3 624
	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77
Higher education centers	4	4	4	4	4	27
Students	36 877	48 735	55 435	68 051	83 957	110 148*
Ist. year students	9 161	16 398	17 459	21 466	26 985	29 897
Professors	4 484	4 697	5 022	5 847	6 326	8 539+
Graduates	4 253	4 472	4 443	6 106	5 894	9 256
	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	
Higher education centers	27	28	30	32	32	
Students	128 524*	139 991*	188 898"	176 735"	185 536"	
Ist. year students	34 020	34 366	81 517·	61 886·	65 217·	
Professors	10 235+	13 785+	14 836+	14 760+	17 420+	
Graduates	11 461	15 343	20 615	25 848	21 009	

* Includes the preparatory faculties attached to universities and students abroad.
" Includes "Directed Teaching" ("Free Teaching"), the preparatory faculties, and students abroad.
· Includes "Directed Teaching" ("Free Teaching") and the preparatory faculties.
+ Includes students and technocrats who assist the faculty.
** At the beginning of the school year. (Does not include data on the centers for higher military education and the Communist party higher education school, "Ñico López".)

SOURCE: Kolesnikov, 1983

sciences have declined, while education, engineering and agricultural sciences have been increasingly (UNESCO, 1974 & 1983).

(FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE)

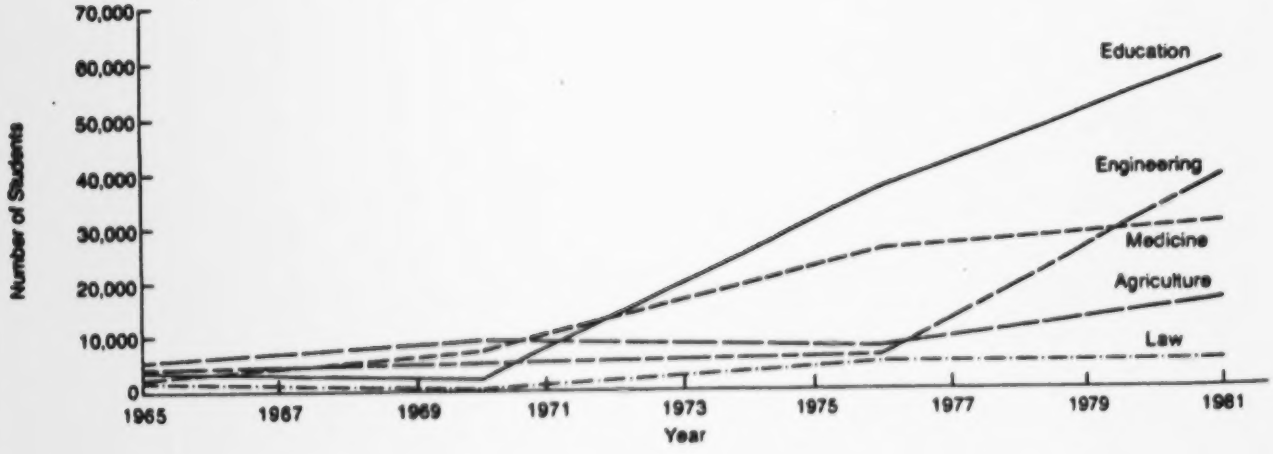
University admission requirements include a mix of academic records, interviews to assess each applicants attitudes towards the revolution, and support from one of the mass organizations where the applicant is well known. For those students seeking entrance to natural sciences or technological studies, the more objective criteria are used. Those seeking admission to social or behavioral sciences, or philosophy, or the diplomatic corps, in contrast, are assessed using more ideological criteria. While students may express a preference for a field of study, placement is made on the basis of guidelines, quotas, and plan requirements. Many applicants are placed in fields where they have little interest, as in agronomy, and poor motivation and dropout remain continuing problems (McDonald, 1985: 169).

Academic Staff

As indicated in Figure 3 above, the number of academic staff, both professors and adjunct faculty experienced a large increase following the 1975/76 reforms. Interests of the state, as with students, are determined by the party, and university authorities dictate all aspects of professional work. Marxism-Leninism guides all curriculum and research problems, especially in the less technical areas, and all faculty publications are subject to rigorous review for "ideological correctness." The state has a

FIGURE 4

Higher Education Enrollments by Selected Fields of Study



SOURCE: UNESCO 1974 & 1983

total monopoly on publishing and academic publications tend to be studies of pre-revolutionary history, or in the natural sciences. No mention is made of faculty rights to free intellectual inquiry or academic freedom in Cuban university documents (Padula, 1988: 132-3). Today, as a large sign on the gates of the University of Havana proclaims, "The University is only for revolutionaries."

Although faculty are still ranked by titles profesores, profesores auxiliares, and instructores, status differences between professors, students, and staff in higher education have been vastly reduced since the prerevolutionary period. Professors and UJC-FEU student representatives jointly plan curriculum, evaluate each other's goals and accomplishments, consults on promotions, and jointly collaborate in the administrative policy and practice of co-gobierno, or cogovernance (Torres, 1983: 47-48). During weekend and summer periods of voluntary productive labor, an obligation of all who are "integrated into the revolution," senior administrators, faculty, and students, along with staff and plant-maintenance people, for example, eat and sleep in the men's and women's barracks and work from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. in the university farm fields without distinctions or special privileges (Castro, 1972).

Since the reform of 1962 eliminated faculty tenure, professors are hired on the basis of annual contracts, which can be terminated at any time. Professors are expected to teach in strict conformity to the revolutionary ideology; that is, they must demonstrate their subject's contribution to revolutionary goals for socioeconomic development and the creation of a new, socialist man. Those unable

to meet these expectations are dropped from the university. The remaining professors receive great social prestige and many of the special rewards reserved for the ruling group, such as access to an automobile, foreign currency stores, and other material rewards.

To meet requirements for contract renewal, faculty members are required to take periodic courses in Marxism-Leninism, in teaching methods, and in subject knowledge. These in-service training courses are offered during the summer months at all universities and related institutions. Faculty members receive full salaries while attending these curses, which also qualify them for promotion and salary increases (Cuba, 1984).

Faculty members are relatively well paid. All salaries (professional and staff salaries) in higher education are determined by the Ministry of Higher Education according to a fixed salary schedule. All who work in higher education are employees of the ministry and, from the rectors and deans down, are responsible to the minister and subject to his direction as the government's representative. Thus, the concept of academic freedom as it is espoused in some Western countries does not exist. In fact, the concept is officially rejected as a middle-class sham and incompatible with the revolutionary role of Cuban universities today (Vecino, 1986: 63-65).

Higher Education and Employment

With higher education tightly integrated into Cuba's command economy, university graduates move easily into technical and

professional employment in state ministries, agencies, and mass organizations. Relations between higher education and industry are increasingly close. Equipos contribute to the planning and construction of industrial facilities and to the increased efficiency of industrial processes and worker training; and university graduates frequently devote their years of public service to work in industry, especially the sugar industry. Since all Cuban industry is in the public sector, the flow of university personnel and skills into the productive process is relatively uncomplicated. In addition, managers and technicians from industry teach courses in higher education (Ministry of Education, 1972: 12-14).

In the worker-farmer program, workers from industry study on campus and participate in student affairs and university governance. Also, university faculty in the program teach classes at the factories and in rural settings as well. In these joint programs and exchanges, universities have become closely linked with industrial development and manpower training. Here again the Soviet model, although much adapted, has been put into operation (Novigrod, 1986: 98-99).

During the past decade, many Cuban graduates have joined technical assistance projects in Angola, Ethiopia and other allied African countries. Although little data is available in this regard, it would seem that international service placement possibilities are now declining due to detente and the domestic Cuban economy will be under increased pressure to provide employment for growing number of graduates at home.

Continuing Problems

Cuban universities have traditionally shared the Latin American university's emphasis on preparing professionals (Maier, 1979). There was, accordingly, a scant tradition of research when the 1975 reorientation took place. And just as the United States attempted to develop research capabilities in Latin American universities through Alliance for Progress programs and foundation assistance, so to the Soviet Union, with support from the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries, has sought to develop research capabilities in Cuban higher education and in the Cuban National Academy of Sciences (Kolesnikov, 1983: 41-44). Most research studies are the responsibility of the National Center of Scientific Research and the National Academy of Sciences. All research in Cuba is thus directed and funded by the government as a state monopoly. Most research studies address practical problems in the areas of technological development, tropical agriculture, and tropical medicine. Some basic research is also carried out, usually in collaboration with Soviet academics and scientific institutions (Tehume, 1983: 14:16).

With the press toward pragmatism and specialization in the universities as indicated in Figure 4, graduates who have been taught research skills are expected to apply them to the task of rural development and production. The Ministry of Education claims that the universities do not produce researchers; instead, they produce knowledgeable, practical people who can run factories and

provide basic health services (Sáenz, 1981: 61-3). University professors, for example, are promoted by student-faculty committees on the basis of their teaching ability and "revolutionary" commitment rather than their research contributions.

Perhaps the major problem in Cuban higher education is the attempted creation of a revolutionary socialist consciousness in all students. This effort to form the so-called new man takes place in educational programs at all levels. The effort is, however, most difficult with older students, and their greater independence of thought and action (Martinez, 1987: 52-4). In 1971 the discrepancy between goals for ideological formation in education and actual student behavior had become so great that the government convened the First National Congress of Education and Culture to address the problem. As a result, discipline and regimentation were increased, individual choice in the selection of a field of training was diminished, and time spent outside the university in work teams and rural extension facilities was increased (Gomez, 1987: 40-43).

This attempt to orient and discipline a new generation of Cuban youth who know the revolutionary struggle of the 1950s only as history and mythology has, in turn, contributed to the chronic problem of low academic achievement and inadequate skills development. Combining study with productive labor may or may not produce the new man. What is certain, however, is that such efforts will seriously reduce time available for learning the special behaviors

that go with being a competent engineer or a physician or a chemist (Wynia, 1987: 288-9).

Recent Reforms

Major reforms attempted in higher education during the past decade or so have been part of larger national campaigns to achieve greater economic efficiency and ideological orthodoxy. The perfeccionamiento reforms, begun in 1975 followed from the creation of a national five-year plan to replace the largely futile and haphazard annual plan. As noted, consequences for Cuban universities saw the creation of a new Ministry of Higher Education and the establishment of Centros de Educación Superior, post-secondary institutions that would prepare technical specialists for local industry and agriculture.

Curriculum was revised and upgraded with special attention given to practical aspects, and ideological correctness (Arrechavaleta, 1983: 41-2). All faculty were required to take additional courses in Marxist-Leninist history, philosophy, and political economy while students would take four required courses or some ten percent of their load, on the same subjects plus principles of dialectical materialism.

Volunteer productive labor requirements of at least twenty hours a week-usually in study-related areas, plus compulsory one-day each week service in the national militia were increased. The law continued to guarantee all higher education students free tuition and support, but with a new requirement that graduates must

serve national development needs for three years wherever they are most needed.

The UJC was given authority to coordinate voluntary labor and enforce the regime's political line among university students. Methods used by the UJC to deal with uncooperative or uncommitted students includes disciplinary courts, suspension,and expulsion. The F.E.U. or student association with a long history of revolutionary activity before the revolution has been changed into a mass service organization involved in cultural and athletic activities along with the every day concerns of university life (Mujal-Leon, 1988: 33-36).

Following the shock and the aftermath of the Mariel exodus in the early nineteen eighties along with possibilities of declining Soviet support with super power detente, Castro launched a national "rectification" campaign in April 1986, the 25th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs invasion. In education, Castro attacked declining promotion rates in secondary schools and blamed finalismo or overemphasis on final exams; promocionalismo, or automatic promotion; overemphasis on memorization, poor preparation of teachers in specialized subject matter, lack of parental involvement, and inter alia, excessive specialization within the university system. The campaign once again called for closer links between the university curriculum and national economic needs. More serious yet, he denounced the "generalized passivity" seen to be prevalent in universities and the educational bureaucracy, and in the faculty and the students. This serious situation would require redoubled

efforts by the repressive organs of the state to secure committed communist orthodoxy (Villarrubia, 1986: 53-61).

Conclusions

With the emergence of new technical elites in the USSR under the leadership of Gorbachev seeking to move the Soviet Union toward greater openness and economic efficiency, it is problematic how long Castro will be able to pursue a counter policy of ideological rigidification. Given Soviet economic influence in Cuba, they contribute over one-quarter of the national GNP, plus the problems of an aging leadership, it would seem likely that the next major reform in Cuban universities will be in the direction of greater productivity and efficiency at the expense of ideological purity, a trend already present in the USSR, China, and in several other Marxist-Leninist states.

Castro has been able to place the ideological returns of higher education over the economic returns in large measure because of massive Soviet economic contributions to the Cuban economy. Future priorities for higher education must, however, take into account Cuba's changing relations with the dominant world powers (Kaufman, 1988-89: 7-8). As a small, underdeveloped country, Cuba is attempting to create a more egalitarian society and to implant the requisite values of social conscience to support such a vast undertaking. Supporters of this utopian effort (Bowles, 1979: Carnoy, 1980: Werthein, 1987) argue that the revolution has created a new university system that now serves the Cuban masses and helps

Cuba replace a dependent capitalist system of production with more equitable structures. Critics argue that any equity gains have been overwhelmed by losses of personal liberty and economic efficiency (Mujal, 1988). While the evaluation of the Cuban people has been generally positive, the extent to which university students will continue to endure oppressive ideological indoctrination, and especially if the economy weakens, remains to be seen.

APPENDIX 1

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

CHAPTER IV

Education and Culture

ARTICLE 38. The state directs, foments and promotes education, culture and science in all their aspects.

Its educational and cultural policy is based on the following principles:

a) The state bases its educational and cultural policy on the scientific world view, disclosed and developed by Marxism-Leninism;

b) education is a function of the state. Consequently, educational institutions are state-owned. The fulfillment of the educational function constitutes a task in which all society participates and is based on the conclusions and contributions made by science and on the closest relationship between study and life, work and production;

c) the state promotes the communist education of the new generations and the training of children, young people and adults for social life. In order to make this principle a reality, general education and specialized scientific, technical or artistic education are combined with work, development research, physical education, sports, participation in political and social activities and military training;

d) education is provided free of charge. The state maintains a broad scholarship system for students and provides the workers with multiple opportunities to study with a view to the universalization of education. The law regulates the integration and structure of the national system of education and the extent of compulsory education and defines the minimum level of general education that every citizen must acquire;

e) artistic creativity is free as long as its content is not contrary to the Revolution. Forms of expression in art are free;

f) in order to raise the level of culture of the people, the state foments and develops artistic education, the vocation for creation and the cultivation and appreciation of art;

g) creation and investigation in science are free. The state encourages and facilitates investigation and gives priority to that which is aimed at solving the problems related to the interests of the society and the well-being of the people;

h) the state encourages the workers to engage in scientific work and to contribute to the development of science;

i) the state directs, foments and develops all forms of physical education and sports as a means of education and of contribution to the integral development of all citizens;

j) the state sees to the conservation of the nation's cultural heritage and artistic and historic wealth. The state protects national monuments and places known for their natural beauty or their artistic or historic value;

k) the state promotes the participation of the citizens, through the country's social and mass organizations, in the development of its educational and cultural policy.

ARTICLE 39. The education of children and young people in the spirit of communism is the duty of all society.

The state and society give especial protection to children and young people.

It is the duty of the family, the schools, the state agencies and the social and mass organizations to pay special attention to the integral development of children and young people.

SOURCE: Mujal-Leon, 1988

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